326 Mossi blacksmiths make ouaka, koutiaga, axes, knives, daggers, swords, spearheads, arrowheads, razors, iron bracelets for women, men, nobles, spoons, horse bits, stirrups, spurs, etc. They also make needles of considerable thickness which are worth [435] 10 cowries apiece, or five for 1 sou.

During the winter season, they hardly make anything beside ouaka.[1] During the dry season, they make all the other items.

411 They also make zandé, or clubs with iron tips. Let us say
326 a word about clubs, which are in a way the Mossi national weapon. A Mossi would believe himself dishonored if he were not to bear a club solemnly on his right shoulder wherever he goes. Even small boys carry them, proportioned to size, and they do this with no less solemnity than their elders.

Mossi clubs are of three kinds:

1. Some made wholly of wood, handle and body both, and carved all of one piece. They are called dori.

2. Others whose handle is made of wood, but whose head consists of a large round stone imbedded at the tip of the handle. These clubs are called gougou.

3. Finally, the clubs with a wooden handle and an iron mallet inserted perpendicularly at the tip of the handle. These are the zandé or zann'dé. Sometimes the handle is covered with hide, and this makes it richer and more handsome.

326 Blacksmiths make only the iron part of the zandé. The other kinds of clubs are made by the owners themselves.

Blacksmiths only make zandé on order. While they make ouaka and koutiaga in advance and have them taken /514/ to market in quantities, they only make zandé when someone comes and asks for one.

The Mossi blacksmiths, therefore, work sometimes on order and sometimes to build up their stock. They sell this stock at market through their children, just as their wives go there to sell the pottery they manufacture.

325 The tools used by Mossi blacksmiths are as follows:
413 1. A small anvil called kissiguiré, with a pointed iron piece underneath, which can be held in the hand or thrust into the ground.

[1] [i.e. A kind of large hoe, see p. 32. —Analyst]

325 2. An iron mallet called zinré which is used as a hammer to
413 strike the above-mentioned anvil. These items are very small. The anvil is held in one hand and the mallet in the other.

3. A pair of tongs (iéougo) to pick the iron from the fire and put it on the anvil.

4. A hammer called kouadara, made of a thick, short, and solid wooden handle into which a long and narrow iron mallet has been driven to make a hammer.

5. A rasp (sodara or chandara), slightly curved, and hafted to a wooden handle.

6. A sort of small wedge to cut the iron (kitéga). This wedge is placed on the piece of iron to be cut, and it is hit with the mallet.

7. A small-sized tool called karé that consists of a curved blade, 3 centimeters long by 2 wide, hafted to a short piece of wood. The karé is used to sharpen knives.

8. The goatskin bellows (zougoudou).

Such are the tools of the Mossi blacksmith which, incidentally, he makes himself.

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The mallet is worth	5,000 cowries	(5 francs)
The anvil	10,000 "	(10 francs)
The hammer	1,000 "	(1 franc)
The nippers	700 "	(0.70 francs)
The rasp	500 "	(0.50 francs)
The iron wedge	200 "	(0.20 francs)
The sharpener	200 "	(0.20 francs)

323 The wives of Mossi blacksmiths make pottery. They are not the only ones to do this, as we shall see later, but they do it, at least in the special blacksmith's villages and quarters.

They make pottery with bérédo, that special black earth, a kind of clay we have already mentioned/in a previous chapter, not translated/. They crush and mash old canari and add this powder to the bérédo. This makes the pots stronger than if fresh bérédo were used. When the pots have been fashioned, the women leave them to dry in the sun for six or seven days. While this drying process is taking place, they gather firewood in the bush. Then they place a layer of wood in a round oven (about 1 1/2 meters high, very

326 In short, the blacksmith's profession is of greater consequence to him than anything else, although he avails himself of several other occupations.

[564] Mossi blacksmiths do not form a caste. That is to say, anyone can marry among them.

306 Let us proceed to the jewelers or copper workers (niaka in Mossi).
439 The Mossi have been familiar with copper for a long time, although West Africa does not produce it. The Yarsé have sought it at Ouanké, Kintampo, and even Kumasi from times immemorial. It comes from the coastal area, where it is brought by the Whites in the form of brass rods 30 or 40 centimeters long (like curtain rods). Nowadays, it is the British who supply the Gold Coast with copper, no doubt in the wake of the Portuguese and Dutch.

306 The niaka earns more money than the blacksmith. He buys the
301 copper rods from the Dioula and makes them into various items /517/ such as women's copper leggings adorned with crocodiles, and thick copper bracelets worn at the wrists and ankles by women and soroné (pages). Depending on their thickness, these bracelets sell for 2,500 [435] to 20,000 cowries. He also makes women's copper hairpins, and low-price rings worth from 100 to 200 cowries.

306 Prior to the arrival of the French, these jewelers also made
532 copper objects depicting everyday scenes, landscapes, huts. The chiefs bought them, but now these objects, at least the more ancient ones, have become very difficult to obtain. It seems that the German physician Frobenius, when he passed through Mossi territory at the end of 1908, acquired some very beautiful specimens of ancient Mossi manufacture for an exorbitant price. Nowadays, one [439] can imagine what the old industry was like by looking at the small items made at Ouagadougou by a few Europeanized Mossi who sell them on the spot for the benefit of local Whites. It might almost be said, therefore, that they manufacture them for export purposes. These items, made by the lost-wax process, are rather interesting and quite artistic for Blacks.

325 The tools of the niaka are about the same as those of the black-
306 smith:
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1. The small portable anvil or kissiguiré.
2. The hammer or kouadara.
3. Shears (niougou) to pick copper pieces from the fire.

325 4. The iron rasp or sodara.
306 5. The sharpening tool or karé.
413 6. The iron wedge to cut copper (kétouga).
7. Shears to cut copper (mankasaga).
8. A few very primitive goatskin bellows.

306 As an example of a jeweler, may I present Sulémani Déréma, an inhabitant of Ouagadougou. He lives with his older brother, who is the head of the soukala and who has a wife and child. Sulémani himself has two wives and two children. A younger brother lives with them with his wife and child. Finally, there are other brothers in the soukala but they are not married (let us note in passing that this soukala is exceptional, for the general rule among the /518/ Mossi is for every household to live separately; here, although they still live together, every household works separately). [592]

Sulémani Déréma buys his copper at market, or else he works the copper furnished by his customers to order. He makes bracelets, rings, copper stirrups, etc.

306 He also works in the fields during the winter season, and like
241 the other households in the soukala, he does this on his own. Sulémani has two fields in the bush, one of small millet and another of large white millet, and in addition he grows maize around the soukala on the stretch of ground allotted him by the head of the soukala.

He owns neither large nor small livestock, not even chickens, He neither hunts nor fishes.

His jeweler's trade nets him more than his fields.

324 The blacksmith and niaka are representatives of metalworking.
316 Let us now proceed to stonework.

The makers of crushing stones are called nanlora in Mossi, from nan, "crushing stone" and lora, "to shatter."

Our quarrymen look in the bush for large stone slabs resting on the ground, and whenever possible raised in some manner above it. They draw lines on these large flat stones with karité and soumbara, the size of the crushing stones they wish to extract, and then they gather wood under the slab and set it afire. They allow the fire

324 to burn for one day. Then, with the aid of a large, sharp stone,
316 they strike the spots where the lines were drawn. The stone breaks at those spots, and they take the pieces and sell them at Mossi markets.

This thankless trade does not pay much, and those who exercise it do so only during the dry season. During the winter season they work in the fields, and this brings them much larger returns than their quarrymen's trade.

323 After stonework comes work with earth. It is represented among the Mossi by the potter, the pipe maker, and the bricklayer. Let us begin with the first.

/519/ Here and there among the Mossi, pottery has remained a family occupation performed by all the women. This might be called the initial level of the craft. Yet we saw earlier that the wives of those blacksmiths who live in /special/ quarters or villages make pottery in abundance. This is the second level of the craft, that of incipient specialization. Finally, there are professional potters to be found among the Mossi, and this is the third level of the craft, that of more pronounced specialization. There would remain a fourth level to attain, where potters would exercise this trade exclusively and would be completely specialized. This level, however, has not been reached among the Mossi. The potters here are potters only halfway, and they work as much in the fields as they do at their craft. We have here, nevertheless, an initial effort toward clay-work specialization, and this is by no means the case in every Black population.

As an example, here is a potter from Dassasogo, a small village located 8 kilometers from Ouagadougou.

During the rainy season, he works only in the fields. He exercises his potter's trade only during the dry season. His fields bring him the larger returns.

He has a field of small millet in the bush, and he grows maize around his soukala which consists of two huts only. He has a wife and a young child. His work tools are as follows:

323 1. A kind of crude basin, very thick, heavy brimmed, quite
413 shallow, and made of earth.

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[317] In order to make this basin the potter takes a kind of earth called yaoré (the kind from large brown or greyish termite nests). He mixes it with straw and makes this kind of basin, this kind of primitive potter's wheel, called tébélé in Mossi.

2. A kind of short earth pestle, which is held in the fist and called toudoubila.

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[428] In order to make his canari our potter takes some yarado. To obtain this kind of clay one must dig at certain spots which are handed down traditionally from father to son. He crushes it with /520/ his pestle in the basin, and then wets it and builds his canari with it, raising the canari like a house wall and making it revolve slowly before him. Incidentally, he only knows how to make small canari.

Those potters who make big jars excavate a sort of large basin in the ground. They use the same short and compact little pestle to work the clay of the canari they are building, but they use a different kind of yarado, the red or reddish kind.

[435] Our potter sells his small canari for 80 to 120 cowries apiece. He makes them in quantities. People come to him to purchase them, or else he has his wife take them to market.

Skillful potters make four canari a day. Beginners only make two or three.

[435] Large canari are worth 300 cowries apiece.

Those potters who make small canari often make nothing else. Similarly, those who make large canari do not usually make any others. There are some potters who make both kinds, however, for example at Kombisiguiri.

In order to fire the pots, Mossi potters have large round ovens which I have already described. They are completely open at the top, like circular walls 1.50 meters high, with four holes at the bottom. The potters heap up millet stalks within, and lay four canari on top. Upon each of these canari they place others, until the pile reaches the top of the wall. Then they set the millet stalks afire and allow everything to cool off until the following morning.

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467 Every potter does not have his own oven. There is only one oven per quarter. The potters in each quarter get together to build a common oven behind the several soukala. If there are five potters,

322 563 Foulbé as makers of wooden gourds and other items of a similar nature. The Mossi call them séta. Since there are many Foulbé in Mossi territory, there are Laobé also. Some of them have left their masters to settle independently, and they are now free.

May we present one, by the name of Louri. During the winter season he works the soil, although very slightly like all other Laobé and Foulbé, and he also makes wooden gourds. During the dry season, he only makes gourds. Owing to his very mediocre cultivating abilities, his trade nets him more than his fields.

His tools are as follows:

322 413 1. First, a large ax called diendé, which he uses to cut heavy timber.

2. The saotaré, a kind of well-sharpened hoe with a very short handle, which is used to fashion the gourd on the outside.

3. The tépotondé, a kind of hoe with a very short handle and a very sharp blade, which is used to hollow out the gourd.

4. The menkéré, which is also used to hollow out the inside of the gourd.

5. The kéfirga, a long-handled tool with a curved, sharp blade, which is used for the same purpose as the two preceding tools.

It is the blacksmith who makes the iron parts of these tools.

322 563 435 Their value is as follows:

The axe is worth	2,000 cowries
The saotaré is worth	500 "
The tépotondé is worth	500 "
The menkéré is worth	1,500 "
The kéfirga is worth	200 "

322 563 In order to make his gourds, our Laobé uses the wood of the following trees: hèdè, bouagaï, saboutoungaï, and bembé.

This Laobé comes from Badongo (a village located 31 kilometers from /523/ Ouagadougou). He has a wife and two children. [561] He is a former slave, a captive from Laobé, whose masters had settled at Badongo. The master left, and now he is free. Formerly he worked for his master, and now he works for himself. He makes gourds in advance and has them sold at market by his wife. He [435] sells the small ones for 100 cowries, the medium ones for 300, the large ones for 500 (0.10, 0.30, 0.50 franc).

322 As for plots, he cultivates a field of small millet, a little
563 maize around his hut, a few peanuts and underground peas.

His soukala consists of a single and lone hut where he lives with his wife and two children.

Here is another example of a Laobé or séta, this one living at Kombisiguiri. He has left the Foulbé to settle among the Mossi.

● [413] His woodworking tools are the same as those we mentioned above: diendé, tépotondé, menkéré, saotaré, and kéfirga.

To make his gourds, he cuts down a whole tree, either hèdè
[313] or n'kouna, which yields the best wood, or bembé, sibi, or n'pékou, or else saboutoungaï, sanktougaï, or satantougaï, or finally bouagaï, which is less good. Gourds made of hèdè wood sell for more than others.

[435] He makes two kinds of gourds, small ones worth 50 cowries and large ones, some of which sell for up to 1,000 cowries. He makes his gourds without waiting for an order and has them taken to market by his wives.

Our Laobé does not work in the fields at all. From one end of the year to another, he makes his wooden gourds and they bring him enough to live on.

322 In addition, he makes mortars and pestles to crush grain. A
563 small mortar and pestle is worth 1,000 cowries, a large mortar
435 and pestle 2,000. He also makes large wooden spoons which he sells for 50 cowries, and clogs or wooden sandals of a sort which are worn during the rainy season and which he sells for 100 cowries.

/524/ There are eight people in his soukala, himself, his two wives, and his five children.

322 Let us add that a few, a very few, Mossi have begun to make wooden gourds like the Laobé, but contrary to the habits of the latter, they spend more time in the fields than at their trade. There are a few at Polsogo, a village located 12 kilometers from Ouagadougou. They must not be confused with the koukouperséba mentioned above.

There are also bow makers among the Mossi. They are called tempéséda. They are primarily cultivators, and their fields net them much more than their trade. They exercise the latter only for the purpose of getting a few cowries to buy condiments such as

285 294 435 2. Similar but smaller hats, worth from 1,000 to 1,500 cowries.

/529/ 3. Round straw hats with wide brims, mentioned above. These are worth 1,700 cowries.

285 294 241 All the leather parts on those hats are added by the shoemaker.

We have already mentioned that our hat makers are not exclusively manufacturers, that they also till the soil. It must be added that the latter activity nets them more than their trade. The man I mentioned cultivates a field of small millet and one of large red millet in the bush. He also grows maize, peanuts, and underground peas around his soukala. He owns neither large nor small livestock, but only chickens.

285 294 592 In his soukala he has two wives, four children, two married brothers who have one wife apiece but no children, and two unmarried brothers, as well as a father. They all make hats.

He lives at Saponé, where there are many hat manufacturers.

282 294 [564] After straw work, let us mention leatherwork.

Mossi shoemakers do not form a caste. Anyone who wants to may marry among them, and anyone who wishes to do so may exercise their trade.

[592] As an example, here is Kinoga Kologo, a Mossi, and the head of a soukala. He lives with two wives, two children, and an unmarried brother. His soukala consists of three huts.

His tools are as follows:

282 294 413 1. The pongo, a kind of broad little knife with a flaring blade hafted to a very short handle. It is used to cut hide.

2. The gansiouba, a wooden knife used to scrape and rub hides, clean them and smooth them.

3. The désara, a small tool with a wooden handle and a curved iron stem. It is used red hot to trace designs on hides.

4. The pime, a small awl used to sew hides.

5. The large tirisiga. This is an iron seal used to imprint hides with small circles.

6. The small tirisiga. This is a smaller seal, /530/ an iron rod whose tip makes a very tiny seal.

282 294 435 As among nearly all Blacks, the Mossi shoemaker is his own tanner. He buys sheepskins and goatskins at market (small ones